## Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY DARESSLAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN

CONFIDENTIAL GABORONE 2217

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BC, TZ, RH

AMEMBASSY LUSKAKA

SUBJECT: TANZANIAN FONMIN MISITS BOTSWANA ON RHODESIA PROPOSALS

- 1. TANZANIAN FONMIN MKAPA HEADED DELEGATION WHICH VISITED GABORONE FOR TWO AND ONE-HALF HOURS SEPTEMBER 12 TO BRIEF GOB ON TANGOV POSITION CONCERNING RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS. TANZANIANS' STOP WAS PART OF WHIRLWIND TOUR OF ALL FRONTLINE STATES TO ACHIEVE A COMMON POSITION ON THE ANGLO-US PROPOSALS.
- 2. IN CONVERSATION SEPTEMBER 13, PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY TIBONE BRIEFED DCM ON SUBSTANCE OF TANZANIAN ATTITUDES. HE SAID THE TANGOV VIEWS THE PROPOSALS AS CONTAINING POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ELEMENTS; BUT ON BALANCE MORE GOOD THAN BAD, SO THAT THEY FORM A USEFUL BASIS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATION AND SHOULD BE PURSUED. THEY HAVE NOT YET CONFERRED WITH ALL FRONTLINE STATES, BUT ARE ENCOURAGED BY MACHEL'S RELATIVELY POSITIVE REACTION. KAUNDA IS THE MOST NEGATIVE THUS FAR, BUT TANZANIANS WILL PAY HIM A RETURN VISIT AND DO NOT BELIEVE HE WILL POSE SERIOUS PROBLEM. CONFIDENTIAL

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3. FOR THE MOMENT, TANZANIANS (AND OTHER FRONTLINE STATES) BELIEVE THERE IS LITTLE FOR THEM TO DO VIS-A-VIS ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALISTS. THEY WANT PF TO EXAMINE AND COMMENT ON PROPOSALS BEFORE THEY MEET, WHICH SHOULD BE IN "TWO OR THREE WEEKS". TIBONE SAID FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS WOULD THEN ATTEMPT TO ARGUE PF OUT OF WHAT ARE

BOUND TO BE A NUMBER OF INTRANSIGENTLY NEGATIVE POSITIONS. HE SAID FRONTLINE WILL STRONGLY PERSUADE PF NOT TO REJECT THE PROPOSALS. "THERE WILL NO DOUBT BE FIREWORKS AT THAT MEETING," HE REMARKED, FOR "WE CERTAINLY CANNOT GO TO THE OAU AND INFORM THEM THAT PF HAS TURNED DOWN AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH WOULD GIVE ZIMBABWE INDEPENDENCE IN 1978."

4. TIBONE SAID GOB AND TANGOV POSITIONS COINCIDED IN GENERAL, AND NOTED SPECIFICALLY THAT BOTH WERE CONCERNED ABOUT LANGUAGE BASING ZIMBABWEAN ARMY ON LIBERATION FORCES. "IT WOULD BE A CONTRADICTION," HE SAID, "FOR US TO SUPPORT THE PRINCIPLE OF ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE AND THEN HAND THE ARMY OVER TO THE PF." BOTH BELIEVED THAT IN PRACTICE THERE MUST BE AS MUCH WEEDING OUT OF "UNDESIRABLE ELEMENTS" ON PF SIDE AS ON RHODESIAN SECURITY FORCES SIDE BEFORE THERE COULD BE CREATED A LOYAL, NEUTRAL ZIMBABWEAN ARMY. ON THIS SUBJECT, HE ADDED, GOB FEELS QUITE STRONGLY, PERHAPS EVEN MORE THAN TANGOV. HE SAID IT WAS A MATTER OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE WITH GOB, WHICH MIGHT BE FORCED EVENTUALLY TO GO IT ALONE IN TAKING FIRM POSITION, IN PRIVATE IF NOT IN PUBLIC.

5. UK HICOM TURNER CALLED ON ME SEPTEMBER 13 TO RELAY CONVERSATION HE HAD HAD THAT DAY WITH MINEXTAFF SECRETARY MOGAMI. UK REPORT IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH TIBONE'S CONFIDENTIAL

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REMARKS.

6. COMMENT: TIBONE ADMITTED THAT A PUBLIC STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS WAS UNLIKELY TO BE ISSUED BY THE FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS AT THIS TIME, ALTHOUGH THEY WOULD WORK PRIVATELY TO AMELIORATE THE MORE UNREASONABLE PF ATTITUDES. THIS, PLUS THEIR APPARENT SURRENDER OF INITIATIVE TO THE PF FOR SOME THREE WEEKS OR MORE, DOES NOT SEEM TO BODE WELL FOR MAINTENANCE OF FORWARD MOMENTUM AT THIS CRITICAL TIME.

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